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T R E A T I S E  
ON 8005 e 47  
GOVERNMENT:  
BEING  
A REVIEW of the DOCTRINE  
OF AN  
Original Contract.

More particularly as it respects  
The RIGHTS of GOVERNMENT,  
AND  
The DUTY of ALLEGIANCE.

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Οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Προσάντες μετ' ὀνόματος ἐκάτεροι ὑπερεπῆς, πλή-  
θος τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς, καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προσημαίει, τὰ  
μὲν κρινὰ λόγῳ διαπραψύνοντες ἄλλα ἐποιεῖτο, πάντῃ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγ-  
νιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι. Thucydides Lib. III. §. 82.

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L O N D O N,  
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THE STATE

GOVERNMENT

ALFRED W. DOUGLASS

Original Document

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LONDON

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TO THE  
EDITOR.

S I R,

**W**HEN I sent you those Papers, I was so far from thinking any Preface or Introduction to the Subject necessary, that I look'd upon the Papers themselves as no more than an Introduction to what might be said upon it. As to the general Turn of Prefaces they may be only consider'd as having given the Author an Opportunity, under pretence of an Apology for his Writings, to address a Dedication to himself. But as the Author would be nameless, this part becomes less needful: he rather wishes, in what respects himself, that his

Life in the whole course of it should be led as it were by Stealth.

*Maluit & mutas agitare inglorius artes—*

And as to the Papers, if they have nothing in them worth an idle half-hour's reading, I shou'd be sorry to see them reduced still lower, and need the Recommendation of a Preface.

But I am aware that when I acquaint the Reader with the Subject, the Doctrine of them will appear so unpopular as to need a great deal of Apology: yet I cannot but apprehend, that that Spirit of Licentiousness, which makes such an Undertaking so unpopular, makes it still more useful and more necessary: and be this my Apology.

It hath been long the Fashion (for there is as much a Fashion in Thinking as in Dress) to treat, under a pretended Zeal for Liberty, the *Imperium* in such a manner as to loosen all the Ties of it, and to disunite and distract all the *Orders* and *Connections* of which it subsists. And this is done not by a few, or any one Party or Faction, but so universally, that these Politicks become the Maxims to which all refer, and the Principles from which all reason and act, that reason or act upon any Principles at all. In opposition to these



these mischievous Errors, I have endeavour'd to inquire how far, upon the same Principles of Liberty, the Injuries offer'd to Government may be repair'd; how that *Imperium*, that τάξις καὶ κατὰστασις τῆς Πολέως— that particular Frame of ORDERS and SUBORDINATIONS, of which a Government is composed, may be strengthened and refitted; How those several *Orders* may be restor'd to their Ranks, and the several *Subordinations* again connected under their respective Commands, so as to form *one Whole* capable of receiving and being actuated by *one united actuating Spirit* which is appointed by All. And this by endeavoring in a cursory manner (for the Papers I sent you are but an Epitome of what I had put together upon this Subject) to give such an account of this EMPIRE, as being drawn from *Nature* and *Fact* will shew that it is not a mere *artificial Form* fram'd and made up any how at the Will of every Legislator, but an *actual natural System* arising by the Vigor of natural Principles from that *Balance of Property*, which is founded in the Scite and Circumstances of each People and their Country.

Now here is the Point that needs most Explanation, and which I am least able to give.

For by founding the *Balance of Power* in the Influence of the *Balance of Property*, I may seem to defend professedly that System of Corruption so generally practised and so justly decried. I can only answer, that Nature gives good and salutary Means which Man misapplies; the very Minerals and Vegetables which Nature gives for Use and Health, the perverse Art of Man can render deadly and destructive. Thus in the Case before us, Nature points out the Ways of *Peace and good Policy*; but Man, ever labouring out of Good still to find means of Evil, deviates into Error and Confusion. If I were acquainted with the Methods of Administrations I could point out how far the true and legal Influence extends, and where its Abuse, that System of Corruption, begins.—But I, who am uninstructed in the refined Policies of States, I, who never saw a Court, cannot do this—I wish I could—Then might I easily obviate all Imputation which may be laid upon me for this Doctrine. Yet thus far I am certain, that they are as different as Light and Darkness; and that the one is absolutely true, legal and necessary, the other false, unjustifiable and destructive.

Altho' this be far beyond my Power and Province, yet it will be well worth any  
*Patriot*

*Patriot Prince's* while to consider this Distinction. For altho' to govern by Corruption, as a System, is not only foolish and wicked, but impossible, because such Corruption destroys that plastic Quality of the Individual by which he is capable of Government; yet to adhere to this natural and constitutional Influence will alway be found true and good Policy. For any Power without this Balance in its Favour, will be an empty Word and nothing more; and where ever this Balance fails, or is not attended to, there will such Power proportionably sink, or all be in Confusion; and since this hath fail'd all hath been in Confusion; except in that glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Policy of whose wise Ministers had the happy Success to supply its Defects, and by such Measures as hath render'd that Reign, as Mr. *Harrington* says, a mere Romance of Love Intrigues betwixt the Throne and People. And that we are now in Peace is owing to that Policy which hath again restor'd this Strength by an *artificial Balance* created in its Favour. How far indeed artful Ministers may at times have been tempted, to mix with it the undue Influence of Corruption, is much beyond my Knowledge to apprehend; yet sure it hath  
more

more the Look of good Policy to suffer the Tares a while to grow up with the good Seed, than with an hasty Hand without Distinction to root up all together.

But there remains Matter of still greater Objection to these Papers, namely, that the Doctrine advanc'd in them, is directly the reverse of those Sentiments which have lately been taught the World by the best Writer, and most able Statesman that this Age hath seen, and who from the greatest political Experience must have the real precise Claim to writing from Nature and Fact. Who says, that Heaven hath pointed out *the few* choice Spirits of *superior Parts* to be the Governors of Mankind. If these Notions are so different, which I cou'd wish and even hope they are not; the first, and I think the principal thing which I must say for myself is, that these Papers were not written with any Affectation of entering the Lists with so known and great a Name, but were drawn up some Years ago, merely for Self-amusement, and my own private Instruction; and the Design of publishing them, tho' it hath been since determin'd, was thought of long before I ever saw or heard the least of these Letters. But I can hope, and imagine I even see, that they do not differ



fer so widely. For tho' it be this noble Author's Sentiments, it is the resting of the Etherial Spirit on the Heads of *the few of superior Parts* that points out their *general Destination*; yet 'tis their *respective Scite and Circumstances* in political Life, that shows their *particular Destination*. Which *peculiar Situation* I suppose to be determin'd by the working of another Spirit, I mean *That* which is respectively essential to every *Imperium*. To find out which Situation, where a Man may and can act with the greatest Exertion of his Abilities, is, by the by, one of the grand Secrets of Life.

Yet as the Principles advanc'd in these Papers *seem* to contradict those of this noble Author, I, nameless thing as I am, should think it the highest Presumption, to oppose them with any Authority that should disgrace him in the Comparison; and when I cannot but adhere to those I have espous'd, 'tis because History tells me, that all the great Legislators and Founders of Governments in ancient Policy have acted on these Principles; because all the ancient Writers too on these Matters have reason'd from the same. And because in all free Governments, Men and Societies of *Men of Property* have been ever  
 I jealous

jealous of *Men of Parts*, and have ever objected against such taking the Lead meerly in right of Genius; and usurping the Management of a Property which they have no share in; in such Cases the Proprietors are apt to presume (tho' probably at the same Time conscious of an Inferiority of Parts) that they are sufficiently well apprized of the true Interest of their own Property, to be able to manage it themselves, and to turn it to their own best Purposes.

And when I say further, that free Governments do not only take their Rise from these Principles, but ought to be and can only be administer'd on these Maxims, 'tis because I am taught that in those Governments, of whose political State there is any account, this was their Policy and Method of Administration; as may be seen in the *Athenian*, and throughout the *Roman* History. And because in the very Case suppos'd, in the Idea of the Patriot Prince, I read that *T. Quinctius* acted upon these Principles: and sure no Statesman here, of the first Magnitude, will think he suffers by the Competition of such illustrious Examples. But if we consider the Conduct of these two great Men more near, it may throw a better Light on the

the Subject in general. The noble Author of the Idea of a Patriot Prince, supposes a corrupted, self-interested, licentious People, lost to all Sense of Virtue and all Shame, profligate, prodigal, venal, this is the Evil.—

He supposes a Patriot Prince to be rais'd up by some good Providence to govern this People, this is the Blessing and Remedy.—The Case in which *T. Quinctius*, no less a Patriot Prince, was employ'd, is precisely the same.

*Pergit ire in Thessaliam, ubi non liberandæ modo civitates erant, sed ex omni colluvione & confusione in aliquam tolerabilem formam redigendæ. nec enim temporum modo vitiis, ac violentiâ & licentiâ regiâ turbati erant, sed inquieto etiam ingenio gentis; nec Comitia, nec Conventum, nec Concilium ullum, non per seditionem ac tumultum, jam inde à principio, ad nostram usque ætatem traducentes.* Now the Conduct recommended to the Patriot Prince is, to form to himself an Administration of such who have a larger Portion of the æthereal Spirit, without any regard to the Consideration of what Channel and in what Hands the Balance of Property and Power lyes, and to call back the Government to its first Principles, by restoring a constitutional Spirit among the People, resting his  
Cause

Cause the while on the constitutional Strength of the Crown and the Concurrence of the People. If here we are to understand the Power of *superior Parts*, in Contradistinction to the Influence of the *Balance of Property*: and if the Maxims explain'd in the following Papers, and confirm'd by these Authorities be true: then the Principles on which these Letters are form'd, and the Measures recommended to the Patriot Prince, instead of healing, uniting and restoring, do seem more likely to run ALL into *Party* and *Distraction*: and to hazard and betray any *Empire* that wou'd govern itself by them. For the constitutional Strength of any *Empire*, consists in nothing but in the Concurrence of the People: *vis omnis in consensu obedientium*, and where the Constitution is perverted and broke in upon, and the People corrupted, the People become incapable of this constitutional Concurrence, according to the Maxim of *Fulvius Flaccus*, *sine Imperio Multitudinem, nullius rei inter se sociam, ad consensum inhabilem*. So this only Support, on which he must rest his Cause, becomes a very broken Reed; and if this Power fails, the Thought of governing such a People, in such Circumstances, with any other good Spirit, will be like the visionary City of Philosophers,



Philosophers, *quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt.* Unless, as *Livy* says, we can suppose the People wise in the few, and virtuous in the whole, *aut principes graviores temperantioresque a cupidine imperii, aut multitudinem melius moratam fieri posse,* which is the reverse of this Case. — If on the other hand we attend to the Conduct of *T. Quinctius*, we shall see how all that Peace, that Unity, that good Policy (to introduce which into Government is the profess'd Design of these Letters) may be brought about, namely, by the single Measures of regulating the Balance of Power and Property, in such a manner, that the Balance of Power may be in those Hands, whom it most concerns to see the State administer'd in Liberty, Safety and Peace. *A CENSU maxime & Senatam & Judices legit : potentiooremque eam partem civitatum fecit, cui salva tranquillaque omnia magis esse expediebat.* —

After this great Example, it will be the Interest of any Patriot Prince to give his whole Attention to this Balance; and it will be the Duty of every Subject that is a Friend to the Peace and Liberty of his Country, to wish to see every Individual in the full and peaceable Possession of his Property, and that Power  
which

which it naturally gives him ; to see Union, Harmony and Concurrence in that part where is the greatest aggregate of Property ; and the Balance of Power in such Hands, who by their Property are most deeply concern'd in the Welfare and Interest of the State, and for the same Reasons have the greatest Opportunities of being best acquainted with it.



# A T R E A T I S E O N G O V E R N M E N T, &c.

**S**OME Time after the late Troubles of the Kingdom were so happily ended, I was invited by my Friend A\*\* to spend a Month or two with him. He was a Man who had made the best Advantages of a liberal Education, and a Knowledge of the World.—he had with him an old Friend of his Father's, a Man of much Reading, and esteem'd by the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood a great Scholar; a Man of great Candour and Humanity; and of a Liveliness unusual in People of his Age; which made him agreeable, and his Acquaintance valu'd every where.—Accordingly toward the latter End of the Year, I went to S\*\* his Seat; it had been the Mansion-house of the Family for many Generations, it was very large and very old: The Manner of the Building was august, and preserv'd the Spirit of the old *English* Taste, whose rough Freedom pleas'd more than Regularity, affected nothing but plain honesty, yet claim'd almost Veneration; and what might seem wanting in out-

B

ward

ward Ornament, was amply recompens'd by more solid Convenience within; in short it was very well adapted to all the purposes of good living. The Entrance is into a solemn old Hall, furnish'd with long oaken Tables, where many an old Chief and his Followers had feasted.—It was hung round with old Armory, and in the most conspicuous Place over the Chimney, was an old Parchment Writing finely decorated on the Edges, which I soon discover'd to be a Copy of the Grand Charter. In this Room the Family met every Morning to breakfast in one of the old Bow-windows.

It happen'd one Morning that my Friend A\*\*, his Friend whom \* I shall call B\*\* and myself met here before the rest of the Family came down, and as at this time the Conversation of the whole People turn'd upon the Danger of the Rebellion, and the glorious Success of our Troops in the Suppression of it, our Conversation took the same turn. But as our old Friend, by the particular Course of his Education and Acquaintance, had a strong Tincture of those Principles which were the prevailing Politicks of former Reigns; the Discourse began naturally to run into a Dispute of that particular Connection there is between the Subject and the Government. I was apprehensive from the sanguine Disposition of my Friend A\*\* it might grow too particular; there-

\* Quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne inquam & inquisitius interponeretur. *Cicero.*



fore endeavouring to make it more general, or if I could, to turn the Conversation, I said to A\*\*, I don't wonder to see you thus strenuous in defence of those Principles by which your Fathers preserv'd, and deliver'd down to you your Liberty, so fair an Inheritance: For the very Air of this Place would inspire one with such Sentiments. Those old Arms, that have been so often born in defence of that Liberty, are daily Monitors of the same: That inestimable Charter too is a living Memorial of that Spirit which has always prevail'd in this Land. Thus in the old Days of Heroism, their Arms and the Devices upon them were Instructors of such Sentiments, as each Country could wish every Son to be inspired with; either a generous Emulation of their Ancestors, by representing the Glories of their Family, and their heaven-deriv'd Origin: or insinuating the Principles of Honour and publick Affection, taught under some fine Allegory. Thus we see *Achilles* Shield—

Here A\*\* interrupted me somewhat warmly. I conceive what you would intimate. But (besides that) I should be so far from entertaining any airy Schemes to support the Spirit of Liberty; unless from the due Sense that a Man ought to have of his own Right and Property: that on the contrary, I think such Schemes have been the Fomentors and Inspirers of all the Troubles this Nation hath been plagued with. For when the Caprice of particular People, blindly devoted to this or that Form of Government, often inflam'd

with a mad Zeal for Innovations, arising from worse Motives, sets itself at work to form Parties, they will never want specious Colours to dress out the worst of Villanies with. And these are what deceive the Honest and Well-meaning; who from being, as you could wish them to be, inspir'd with the Spirit of Liberty, and persuaded that they are fighting under that Banner, run headlong into the last Extreams, till they are ruin'd by the Spirit of Madness. Whereas all that I would have my Children understand from these Memorials, is, that they should form the true Estimate of their own Importance in the Community, and be well acquainted with that precise Character, and Weight in the Government, which their Property naturally gives them: That this should be the only Standard of their civil Faith, and that they should consider these Arms, which have been often gallantly born in Defence of it, as deliver'd down with it for the same Purposes. And that they should be ready, and dare even with their Lives, to maintain such Rights, and defend such Property, from any Invasion from abroad, or any injurious Attack within, either of the People or the Government.

Now such Principles can never incite them to innovate, or disturb the Government, or act offensively on any Pretence whatsoever; but will be a Barrier and form them rigid Champions of Liberty. For as this Rule is not imaginary but real, and founded on the very Matter of Government, it can be affected by nothing but what reaches

reaches that Foundation: it can give no Pretence to Parties and Oppositions, but where the Foundation of Government itself is shaken. For while a Man feels himself safe and untouch'd in his Property, and the legal Use of it; whatever Jealousies may be suggested, whatever Clamors rais'd, he will be certain that he is secure in his Rights and Liberty.

B\*\*. While I cannot but with Pleasure observe, that the natural turn of your Temper inclines you to the securing and preserving the Peace of Mankind; and in what manner your Benevolence wou'd make that the only End and Purpose of all Government; yet cannot I but see how ill these Principles, how imperfectly these Maxims answer this End. For it is of the Foundation of these Politics to set up two sovereign and distinct Interests in the two political Persons of the Governors and Governed, while the latter are taught to consider themselves originally equal with any other Individual, and free of all Dominion but what arises from their own Appointment; and in no other Tyes connected than by their own Compact; and that not only the People, amongst themselves, but that the Governors and the People were originally equal and Independent of each other; and that the Subordination subsisting between them, arose wholly from their own Consents. Tho' indeed they say, that these Governors are sovereign and independent, yet they make the People so too, and of these two sovereign, independent, distinct and different

Interests is this Contract form'd, and in the forming it the People have many Rights and Claims to bargain for, as the Sovereign too has certain Interests, certain Powers to maintain. Thus they divide Mankind, as it were, into two Species of Creatures, of Kings and People. They say indeed Kings are appointed to the Government by the People, yet as at this very Appointment, they suppose these Kings to have certain Powers and Prerogatives to uphold, they still make them distinct individual Persons, a distinct Party to this Contract. Thus these two Parties enter into Compact or a defensive Alliance, where the Conditions to be perform'd are, on one hand Allegiance, and Protection on the other, and that these are reciprocal. Thus in the Entrance, in the very Foundation of these Politics, instead of being a Community, an Union of several Individuals under one common Interest and Empire, it is a mere Coalition or Alliance of two different and distinct Interests.

Thus the Writers on these Matters, who talk so much of an Original Contract, do not inquire how these contracting Parties came to be such, but think it sufficient, beginning from the State of the Case that there are two such, to prove that each in their own Rights are sovereign and independent, where it is the Duty of Each to preserve and secure and strengthen their respective Rights, to award off the Encroachments of the other, and confine him within his legal Bounds and Power. Hence it is of the very Essence of these



these Governments to subsist, and be carried on, by Parties and Oppositions, as the noble Author of the Dissertation on Parties hath fully shown.

A\*\*. Truly I must own there is something in the Fortune that these Politics have met with, which may give Grounds for this Representation of them; yet it is as far from their real Colour as Black is from White. But as a great Reasoner well observes on this Point, \* “ The Theory of  
 “ Civil Society founded on an Original Contract,  
 “ has had the Fortune to fall into ill Hands, the  
 “ Enemies of their Country, who inforc’d it  
 “ not to defend the Liberties we enjoy’d, but  
 “ to alter the Essence of the Constitution.”  
 Nay further they have suffer’d equal Perversion from the Injudiciousness of their Assertors; for while many treating of this Matter, have endeavour’d to illustrate and exemplify this Point from actual Instances, they have thrown this very Light upon it that you charge it with. They find no actual Examples but in the Compositions and Agreements that have been the final Issue of contending Parties; or the Compositions between Kings and their Subjects, who having been drove to War to support themselves against the Usurpation of such Kings, have claimed and gained by the Law of Arms, that which was their Right by the Law of Nature, as that sacred Charter there. Or otherwise in the Treaties between two Nations that have been at War, where upon a

\* Mr. Warburton.

Peace the lesser has been taken into the Protection, and united into the *Empire* of the greater; as there are many Instances in the course of the *Roman History*. In all these Cases indeed the Contract is between two sovereign, independent and different Interests; where both Parties are two actually existing Persons, have different Demands to make, and different Rights and Claims to be satisfied. But originally in Nature there can be no such difference of Persons. Every Individual is equal, and as of equal Claims and Rights so of equal Power and Authority, therefore if we look upon the first Constituents, the Governors are but Individuals of the same personal private Rights and Power, as the Governed. Thus we see such Instances do not illustrate but pervert this Point. For the Case, in order to suit these Examples, should stand as follows: A set of People herding together, a meer rabble Rout without public Sense or Power to conduct themselves, meet with some one or more of these *kingly Personages*, who must be supposed on their Part to have essentially from Nature such Royal public Power, but no People to exercise it on; this Herd, on the other side, must be supposed to be essentially a servile leading Flock wanting a Leader; and that these two Parties, having thus luckily met with each other, immediately settle a Conference for striking a Bargain. The People promise to submit themselves to his Guiding and Jurisdiction, if he will undertake to lead and protect them: while he on his Part promises to be

be their Father and Protector, if they will put themselves under his *Impire* and Dominion. This wou'd indeed be setting out with two different Interests instead of one Community.

But really in Nature there can be no such Case, the Parties, to the Contract we mean, are each Individual consenting to the Whole and every Particular \* “ to join and unite into one Community, for their comfortable, safe and peace-  
“ able living amongst one another, in a secure  
“ Enjoyment of their Properties, and a greater  
“ Security against any that are not of it :” And when they have agreed upon the Methods and Means of promoting this End, they appoint some one amongst them (as they cannot all do it) to administer and execute these Measures. Thus the Parties to the Original Contract are not the People, as the Party on one hand, and the King, as on the other ; but before any such *Political Persons* are form'd, the Compact Deed is executed, and every Individual Constituent of the Community, in their own *private* Persons, are Parties to it, and are bound to the Whole and to each Particular, for the Performance and Support of it.

B\*\*. Well be it so—Yet however these Political Persons may have arose ; or whoever may have been the original Parties to this Contract ; however the *Imperium* may have been brought about : Yet is it not still of the Constitution of such

\* *Lock on Government*, § 95.

Governments,

Governments, who suppose themselves founded on an Original Contract, to consider this Contract as actually and really subsisting between the King and People, and that each Party is bound and engaged to look to the just Performance and Execution thereof? And that any Act of either Party fundamentally contrary to such Constitution of the Government, is an actual Breach of that Contract? And that it is at all times the Duty, which either owe to themselves, to see that the other does not infringe the Contract to his Detriment? Is not this the ultimate precise State of the Case, in whatever view you consider it? whether with the speculative Politicians as a mix'd Government, or with the Lawyers as a compact Deed and Bond to observe the Laws, which is this Contract?

If with the Philosophers you talk of a Mixt Government, you consider That Order and Subordination, by which alone a number of People can be capable of acting as one Body, as capable of taking three Forms; either where the actuating Power is collected and resides in one, and is call'd Monarchy; or where by a more equal Division, it is in the Hands of those few whose Weight and Property give them this Influence, and is call'd Aristocracy; or where the Circumstances and Humour of the People suffer no one to out-grow his Neighbour, or to have more than any other Person, where it is thus diffus'd amongst the whole, and is call'd Democracy. You are taught to consider these three Forms



as the only simple Forms of Government. But that when the Power is thus wholly resident in any one Part of the People to the Exclusion of the rest, it must be oppressive and tyrannical. That therefore the best Governments are fram'd and accorded of these three several Forms, that is, where the Power is divided amongst the People in all the three Ways in which they are capable of exercising it, so that each Part may have its due Proportion of Influence. From this right Distribution, and from each being able to preserve its own Share, and award off the Encroachments of the other; or from any two being able to prevent the other that he grows not too great, and amasses not too much Power, arises the Perfection of this Constitution. This is, I believe, the clearest Idea we conceive of what is call'd by these Reasoners, a Mixt Government; and yet see the Effects of it, 'tis of the very Constitution of this, as I said before, to subsist and be carried by Parties and Oppositions: for it consists of divers and different Parties, which can only subsist by opposing and being a Check upon each other.

I know what fine things *Polybius* says of these three being so happily constituted in the *Roman* Government, that each separately was capable of exerting its respective Power and Influence over the rest, and yet none able to clash or interfere with the Power of another; but if instead of instancing in any actual State, he had said, it was possible it might be so, he cou'd not  
so

so easily have been controverted from matter of Fact: but unluckily the *Roman* State is an Instance to the contrary. Can any Party support itself unless it hath a Power sufficient to enforce its legal Influence? and if it hath actually such Power as to be capable to enforce its Acts, it may exert an illegal or undue Influence; and must not this be contrary to the Interest of any other that is connected with it? Therefore any Constitution explain'd from this Idea, must consist not only of different, but contrary Parties, and consequently of Oppositions.

Government we know abridges every Individual of that Liberty, which in a State of Nature he is born to, and in whatsoever Hands the administering Power resides, 'tis the Duty, the Interest, 'tis of the very Essence of that Power, that the People shou'd be kept in Subordination to the actual Influence of it; so that it is the Interest of the Monarchical Part to keep the Connections and Stricture of Subordination as close and fast bound as possible. On the contrary, it is the Spirit and Policy of a free People to preserve all their Liberty as clear and detach'd of all external Influence as possible; "to hold  
" themselves free by as enlarg'd an Immunity as  
" they can, to live and do as they please, to submit to no personal Influence, however as little  
" as may be\*." Thus it becomes the Interest of the Democratic Part, to be a constant Clog

\* Arist. de Repub. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

and Check upon the Measures of the administering Power, and to oppose themselves to every new Exertion of its Influence. Here there are two different Parties whose Interest is essentially contrary, and who can alone subsist by the Struggles of Opposition.

Nay it is of the Spirit of this Policy to speak of these as set up to be a Counterbalance the one to the other, to oppose, check and impede the other. Hence a Balance of Power, and a due Regulation of this Balance, is of the Essence of this Constitution. Now as betwixt Nation and Nation the preserving and guarantying such foreign Balance has linked all the Powers of *Europe* in a perpetual Series of War and Bloodshed, so the supporting and restoring this domestic Balance amidst the Powers of Government, has been the Pretence and Occasion of all the Factions, Rebellions, and Civil Wars that this Kingdom hath been torn and distracted with. Like the fighting of the Elements this Strife may produce some happy Form at last, but in the mean while the unhappy Constituents are destroy'd and ruin'd. "The true Meaning of a Balance of Power (says an ingenious Writer) is best conceived, by considering what the Nature of a Balance is. It supposes three things; first the Part which is held together with the Hand that holds it; and then the two Scales with whatever is weigh'd therein." Now as infinite Accidents shall happen, and Circumstances arise, to the Interruption of this tender Constitution (for  
you

you see on how ticklish a Point its Peace and Safety lyes) from that Instant must all be in Confusion and Disorder; the whole State must be going to Wreck and Ruin; and if it can be a while upheld, it will drag on a fev'rish Being, amidst the Delirium of Parties and Factions, amidst the Uproar of Tumult and Sedition, and at length die miserably, amidst all the Horrors of Rebellion and Massacre. I know how we are taught to say this Balance may be preserv'd by the Address, Conduct and Integrity of the Hand that holds it; but how little does Experience teach us to expect from this! The grosser and more usual way is, by calling in and adding to the lighter Scale, the Influence of some external Power, thus indeed a kind of Equilibrium is preserv'd, but the Beam, on which the Balance rests, is in the mean Time overcharg'd and broken down.

Or if with the Lawyers we consider the Laws as a Contract between King and People, a mere voluntary mutual Covenant between two free and independent Parties; we shall in the Event find that the Conditions of it, between Prerogative and Privileges, must be so vague and indeterminate, the Obligations of it so loose and imperfect, that these Principles shall prove the very Seeds of Anarchy and the Dissolution of Government. In how many different Methods shall the Insolence of Power explain this away? What but Power can determine and fix the Barrier between these two? And after all, on which side soever is the greater Power, Pretexs and Casuistry will be never there wanting



wanting to find Colour and Reasons for every Violence of it. If it can be said that the first covenanting of this Contract was an Act of Freedom ; upon every Temptation and Opportunity it will be broke at Random. It will be supported, while it is kept, by nothing but the constant Strife and Struggles of the contracting Parties ; and either side, if it be in their Power, will keep it no longer than is convenient for them.

“ Lady K—, says Mr. *Selden*, artickled with Sir  
 “ E— H—, that he shou’d come to her  
 “ when she sent for him, and stay with her as  
 “ long as she would have him, to which he set  
 “ his Hand : then he artickled with her that he  
 “ shou’d go away when he pleas’d, and stay  
 “ away as long as he pleas’d, to which she set  
 “ her Hand, this is the Epitome of all the Con-  
 “ tracts in the World betwixt Prince and Sub-  
 “ ject, they keep them as long as they like them,  
 “ and no longer.”

Thus upon the whole, we see these boasted Principles of Liberty, how well so ever they may serve the Purposes of Parties and Factions, are so far from being the Principles of Peace and good Government, that they are the very Seeds of Confusion and Anarchy ; and I do verily believe that, whatever the Mob of Politicians may think, and however the Leaders of such Mob may contrive to give this illustrious Colour to their Designs, That these Politics are only the Pretexts of the ingenious Few (and what cannot a Combination of the Ingenious make fashionable?)

to impose upon the servile Many. They are only calculated for an Opposition, and never thought of but by artful Men, who aim to build their Power on the Destruction of those in Power. For they are incompatible with any establish'd Power. Though we may think highly of Man, and talk big of the Power of Reason, the Energy of Truth, the Force of Liberty, and such Vaunting. Yet so mechanically do we all act by Habit and Custom, that Experience says, Mankind will be always found (give them but some cant Terms and Phrases to amuse them) servilely ductile under every Frame and Fashion, that the artful and ingenious shall think proper to dress out their Designs with. Give them but an Opportunity to run wild about, venting their ill Humour and ill Manners; and nothing is too absurd or extravagant for them. To such a Pitch of Enthusiasm and Folly shall the Contagion work itself, that tell them but that *the Monument is in Danger*, and half Mankind shall run mad after a May-pole.

A\*\*. It is certain, that *these* Politicks are only calculated for Parties and Oppositions, and indeed were never entertain'd but by such, and in the manner that you have represented them, could never be used to any other Purposes. For such Politicians being wholly intent and solicitous to disengage the popular Interest from the undue Influence and Dominion of the regal Power, forgetting in the mean while that the Government is a Community, a one common Interest of the individual

individual constituent Interests, their whole Force and Reason has been employ'd to fortify and secure the People, their Liberties and Property, to fence them in a separate Part, and as it were, broke off from the Community, a peculiar *Empire*, a distinct Commonwealth\*.

Thus whoever have wrote upon this Subject amid the Struggles of a State about Prerogative and Liberty, about the Encroachments of the Few upon the Rights of the Many, and of the Many upon the Privileges of the Few, they have all concurr'd in representing this Contract, not as the common Confociation of a Number of equal Constituents entering into Community, but as a mere Treaty of Alliance between King and People†, and such like political Parties. This Representation is, I am afraid, too consonant to the Sentiments of Parties, not to be too common: Yet is as far from being the true Case, as a mere Treaty of Alliance betwixt two federate Nations is from an Union of those two Nations into one Society or Government||. — If this was indeed the Case, all the Evils, which you mention to ensue from these Politics, might be truly urg'd

\* Plebem, quam partem veluti abruptam à cætero populo, vestram Patriam peculiaremque Remp. fecistis. *Livius Lib. 3. §. 19.*

† Ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικήσασιν ἀλλήλοις. *Arist. de Rep. Lib. 3. c. 9.*

|| Καὶ γὰρ ἂν Τυρῆνοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πάντες οἷς ἐστὶ σύμβολα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς μίᾳς ἂν πολιταὶ πόλεως ἦσαν εἰςὶ γένεσιν αὐτοῖς συνθῆκαι περὶ τῶν εἰσιγωγίμων, καὶ σύμβολα περὶ τῆ μη ἀδικεῖν καὶ γραφαὶ περὶ συμμαχίας· ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀρχαὶ παῖσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις κοῖναι, &c. *Arist. de Rep. Lib. 3. c. 9.*

upon us in their utmost Consequences. There would then be two distinct Parties with distinct and contrary Interests, and have nothing to connect them, but the alternate Fear of each other, or the united Fear of some common Enemy. And though under the immediate Impression of Danger this latter might unite them, yet the other would be the inveterate Spirit of Faction, each respectively could promise himself no Security but in the Incapacity of the other to hurt him; neither would either dare to advantage the other, lest he should make him too powerful for himself: So that the very Alliance must be vitiated with Jealousy, and the Communion carried on by Strife and Contention.

Indeed you may as well say, *these Politics* are only fit for Parties and Sedition, and all the black Train of Faction; for they are only and wholly the perverted Representations of mistaken or factious Men; whose only Field of Action, or Opportunity of Interest, is in the Confusion and Distraction of all the Powers of Government: Men who fear nothing so much as the Peace and Harmony of the Orders of the State, because it must inevitably take away all Occasion of this bad Popularity; so, like poor needy Mechanicks, make themselves work, alway willing to have something wrong in the Constitution, that there may be something which requires them to cure it\*.—

—Whenever

\* Si unquam dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum Tribuni Plebis vestrâ an suâ causâ seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego



—Whenever thus in any State it can become the Interest of Particulars to make a Breach and Division in the *Empire*, they can never want specious Pretences nor Tools to work upon, to form such Opposition, and to persuade such, that it is in a distinct Interest from the Government, and that it is constitutional, and what not? With such, as may be seen through the whole *Dissertation on Parties*, Oppositions become the virtuous Support of Liberty, and a noble watchful Care for the common Interest of Mankind. It is *these minor Patriots* who not having Parts or Interest sufficient to maintain and act with the real Powers of Government, and but just Art and Intrigue enough to work themselves into the Lead of some Party in it, must there ventilate their poor Spirit of Ambition: It is from *these* Demagogues and their Followers, that we hear of Governments being compounded of different Interests: It is *these* that talk of a Balance and Counterbalance, of one Power being constitutionally a Check upon another; and that it is constitutionally the Duty of *these* to pull different Ways, even where there be no real Matter of Difference, yet to preserve the Equilibrium of Power. Or if they find with all their Throat

ego hoc anno desisse dubitari, certum habeo——quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse creditis, aut hodie turbare velle, nisi concordiam Ordinum? quam dissolvendæ maxime Tribunitiæ potestatis rentur esse? Sic herculè tanquam artifices improbi, opus quærunt; qui & semper ægri aliquid esse in Repub. volunt, ut sit, ad cujus curationem à vobis adhibeantur. *Leo.*  
Lib. 5. §. 3.

and Lungs that they are not able to gain that Influence, which they could wish to be at the Head of; then the Balance is destroy'd, and the Constitution is gone to Wreck : *Obsecro Populares, ferte misero atque innocenti auxilium—Save my Country, Heaven! Save the good old Constitution, for I love the Constitution of my Country!* This or idler Cant will do, and be call'd *Liberty*, where there is a *Spirit of Licentiousness* amongst the People.

But let *us* consider the Matter more dispassionately, we must know that all such Individuals as are associated under one Communion can have but one common Interest; and that all the lesser Communities, fram'd upon such a one common Interest, must be all linked together under one continu'd Concatenation. Now this Interest is the very Soul and Spirit of the Government, and such Government can only subsist by the concurring Consent of all its Powers in their several Subordinations to this Interest. But where any one Part is taught to consider itself, not as connected with the whole by any Intercommunity of Right and Interest, but merely ally'd by voluntary Compact for the Preservation of its distinct Interests; and that the Protection of such is the only End of Government, and the Support of it ought to be the only Measures of its Policy: It becomes the Politics of *such* to hold themselves as distinct and unconnected as possible, and to talk much of *the Independency of the Powers of Government*. But if this Ma-

lady

lady has touch'd but one the most minute extreme Part of a State (so virulent is the Poison) it shall spread itself through the whole People, and infect and corrupt the whole Mass, and where that Corruption hath once broke out, it will glut itself with the total Ruin of that Constitution.

It were endless to observe how many free People have lost their Liberty, by their Leaders using the Principles of Liberty to the base Purposes of Party and Faction. For where these Fiends have once insinuated themselves, or been *imposed upon a People under this fair disguise*, they have never failed to break all that Order and Harmony, and to dissolve that Communion, by which alone a Government can subsist. We read in *Livy*, that this one Plague had seiz'd all the States in *Italy*, these *Principles of Independency* between the People and their Governors, and between one Power of the Government and another\*. And we read in *Livy* that all these States were destroyed. We see in our own State, that this Party Policy has been long the reigning Principle, and That *Independency*, which is to disunite and dissolve all Connection amid the Powers of Government, has been the only Spirit of Liberty: But may no Ages yet in the Womb of Time ever feel the dreadful Consequences of it.

\* Unus velut Morbus invaserat omnes Italiae Civitates, ut Plebes ab Optimatibus dissentirent: Senatus Romanis faveret, Plebs ad Poenos rem traheret. *Lib. 24. §. 2.*

That the Mob and noisy Part of Mankind should be thus misled is nothing strange: But one would wonder how the thinking Part, that mean not to falsify, should be thus deceiv'd. But when the Infirmary of Man's Nature is consider'd, how long a Person may revolve, and even perceive any Sentiment, may see some faint Relation and Connections of the Ideas it is compos'd of, and yet not be able to frame and model it, so as to represent it to his own Mind as actual Knowledge: One sees from this Infirmary, how willing the Mind is to catch at any Assistance, from those artificial Forms or mechanical Frames that may serve in general to cloath and convey its Ideas with. It is thus we hear of pure Aristocracy and Democracy, though there be no such thing as either in Nature, Art, or Example; it is hence we hear of Governments mixed and compounded of the three pure Forms, as of three actual distinct things; it is hence we talk of the People's having the Lead in the *Imperium*, though we know that it is impossible that any People in the Bulk should be capable of Counsel. Here we talk of the WISE FEW the Senate having the Lead, though here too we know it is impossible that any Number of Equals can long subsist without some LEADING ONE at the Head of them. While we please ourselves with talking of these three Parties as subsisting actually by themselves, though at the same time we might know that they actually cannot so subsist; We distract that Communion,  
by



by which alone these could have any Subsistence at all.—This Method of representing the thing, while it is only meant for the Ease of Conception, and ready explaining the Matter is useful and scientific ; but when it is introduc'd into Practice, as a true Dissection and Analysis of an actual existing System, and thus apply'd to the Purposes of Policy, it is the Ground of all the Error and Confusion that can embroil and mislead a People. In the first Light it hath been consider'd by all the great and wise Reasoners in this Matter, but in the latter by none but mistaken or designing Men.

And it is thus the Folly and Villany of Mankind have conspir'd to misrepresent and pervert those Principles, which to be rightly inform'd of is of the utmost Consequence to them.

*B\*\*.* Be this Description of the Matter, and this Explanation of the Form, of this Policy, how it will ; yet from the Nature of the End of these Principles, I do not see how any Man can be oblig'd to subject himself to the State, any otherwise than by his own Consent, or any longer than those Measures of Government, to which he consented, when he connected himself, are pursu'd. All Men, you say, are equal by Nature ; all Men are born free, and in a State of Nature, till they do connect themselves ; and they can be connected by nothing but their own free Will and Act : And the Conditions of their Connection can be no other than according to their own Consent. “ For a Child

“ is born a Subject of no Country or Govern-  
 “ ment whatever\*.” No Compact of his Fa-  
 “ ther’s can be binding to him, nothing but his  
 “ own Consent can connect him. “ For every  
 “ Man’s Children, being by Nature as free as  
 “ himself, or any of his Ancestors ever were,  
 “ may, whilst they are in that Freedom, choose  
 “ what Society they will join themselves to,  
 “ what Commonwealth they will put themselves  
 “ under†.”

Thus in the forming of Government, nothing in the World can give the State a Claim upon the Service of one who hath not of his own Accord willingly vouchsafed to subject himself, and this by some Overt Act ||. This Overt Act is the accepting the Terms of the Government, and submitting himself to it on the Conditions of enjoying that Protection, which such Government gives to the civil and personal Rights of its Subjects. This Allegiance is thus only conditional: And the Conditions of the Obligation are reciprocal to the Protection given. So that if the Person has not yet put himself under the Protection of the Government; or is by any legal Disabilities excluded from it: or if the Conditions of such Protection are not fulfill’d but broke: or if that Protection hath been any how withdrawn so that the Subject is forc’d to put himself under

\* Locke on Gov. *Treat.* 2. §. 118.

† §. 73.

|| Men may become Members of Society by giving their Consent either explicitly or implicitly. Woolaston Sect. 7. Prop. 7.

the Protection of some other State ; his Allegiance, being reciprocal, will be always there, and there only, due whence he receives his Protection.

It is thus and upon these Principles that Dr. *Burnet*, in his Vindication of himself says, in answer to the Citation and criminal Letters issued against him here in *Britain*, when he was under the Protection of the States of *Holland*, that certainly a Subject may transfer his Allegiance by putting himself under the Protection of any foreign State : That he may become naturaliz'd to any other Government by which his Allegiance is translated \*. And it was upon these Principles that the States of *Holland* did not give him up, but supported him under their Protection, and call'd him their Subject.

Upon this Maxim too, when King *James* the second wrote to the States, that he had Occasion for the six Regiments of his Subjects that were in their Service, and desired that they should be sent over to him, the States answer'd that the Regiments were theirs : They had paid Levy Money for them, and had them under no Capitulation that had reserv'd an Authority to the King to call for them at his Pleasure ; so excus'd themselves that they could not part with them ; but gave Orders that all Officers that should ask their *Congè* should have it †.

Upon the same grounds, as being reasonable and the Custom of all Nations, *Perseus* of *Ma-*

\* *Burnet's Tracts*, Vol. II.

\* *Burnet's Hist. of his own Times*, Vol. I. page 734—5.

cedon answer'd the Pretence the *Romans* gave out, when they wanted to take Occasion of making War upon him, namely, that he made himself accessory to the Crimes of certain Delinquents, that had been banish'd from *Rome*, by admitting them to his Protection. Upon these Grounds he reasons to this purpose, that when they had withdrawn their Protection, and prohibited these Criminals from the Communion of their Country, to whatever State these Persons, in these Circumstances, betook themselves, tendering their Service, that that State has a Right, if it pleases, to take them into its Protection. *Et hercule quid attinet cuicumque Exilium patere, si nusquam Exuli futurus locus est* \* ? It was upon the same Reasoning, though not with equal Justice, that Mr. *Knight*, who was arrested within the Jurisdiction of *Brabant*, was not surrender'd to the Government of *England*.

If then in any of these Cases, Subjects can thus withdraw from their Allegiance, they may become independent of that Sovereignty whose Subjects they were : And if they are independent of that Government, they are as much in a State of Nature with it, as one Kingdom is in Respect of another. And therefore in like manner, should any Matter of Difference arise (between them) and give Cause to Arms, they may justly have Recourse to Arms, and are entitled to all the Laws thereof, as much as one Nation is with regard to

\* *Livius Lib. 42. §. 41.*



another. And if their Arms should fail, ought to be treated no otherwise than Prisoners of War. For no one can have a Right (according to these Principles) to judge for them, or determine the Equity of their Cause, there can be no Appeal but to Heaven; and in that they have a Right to defend their Cause, even to the putting Life upon the Issue.

Thus these Principles, of a State, that founds its Establishment in the Consent of the Constituents *for the Purposes of Protection*, prove the Dissolution of all Government. For by these Politics a Man, or a number of Men, may find equitable ways to desert, betray, or even subvert the Government of his Country, and be clear of all Imputation of Treason or Rebellion. So that the Duty of Allegiance, which you in Power wou'd have held in so high Regard, becomes a mere Thumb-band or Rope of Sand.

A\*\*. I confess all this is very specious; and when enforced with that Authority, which your Character gives you amongst us, is apt to persuade: and in matters of less Consequence, I shou'd rather mistrust my own Judgment than suspect yours, but I think I see in your reasoning such abominable Consequences, the Seeds of perpetual War and Massacre, that I cannot but abhor them, even tho' I were not able to unravel these cunning Links of Sophistry, I call it so, because you have endeavour'd to distress us even with our own Concessions: but tho' you are pleas'd to found your Reasoning on our Principles, yet

when you hold them in another Light, when you throw quite another Colour on them, they can reflect that Ray only which they receive, and this with the more Lustre on the blacker Ground. They are not the Principles of Confusion but Order, yet you have interwove them with Anarchy; they are the only Ties by which a Man can be connected with the Government, saving all his Rights and Liberties; and the only Obligation that can hold him there inseparably by his due Allegiance. For if a Man be once thus lawfully connected with the Community, no Claim in the World can dissolve him from that Allegiance he bears to its Government; for the Community thence forward must have a Claim to him and his personal Service. And if he dislikes the Measures of the Government, he has no way left to oppose them, but these formal ones, which the Community hath thought fit to establish for the Security of its Liberty. Therefore while that Government subsists, all violent Attacks upon it, by any Part of the Community, can be deem'd nothing but Rebellion, and all Invasions of its Rights, by any Part of it, can be reckon'd nothing but Treason.

*B\*\*.* I fancy I apprehend your Argument, namely, that while any People live under the Protection of the State, and enjoy the Rights and Privileges of the Community, any direct Act of that Party to the Violation of the State is absolutely Treason: and the State has a Right to prosecute that Party, as Traytors. But this is  
not

not the Case here, nor to the Matter in Dispute. The Point is, whether a Person is not born in a State of Nature and Freedom, and remains so 'till he shall by some Act of his own connect himself; and whether being thus connected only upon certain Conditions, The Conditions not being fulfil'd, he can again be disengag'd.

The Case of the *Irish* Troops that have been found amongst the unhappy Party in this late Affair, comes precisely up to the Matter. They were not in Arms against the Government while they lived under the Protection of it. They were born indeed under the Jurisdiction of this Government, but it being a Government to whose Principles and Maxims, (that is, to the Conditions by which they must be admitted to the full Protection of it,) they cou'd not give their Consent, they have accordingly never connected themselves by their own Consent to it, and therefore are not connected according to the Principles above. But having liv'd under a temporary Allegiance, as due to that Protection which they receiv'd by the Toleration of the Government, have some Time since resign'd that Protection, and withdrawn from this Allegiance to the Government under which they were born; have put themselves under the Protection of another, and they say it is now due to that State which supports, protects and maintains them; and they are accordingly obeying the Orders of a Government that maintains them, and are fighting the Battles of a Country that receives and supports them as its Subjects to fight

fight their Battles. They are in the Pay of *France*, and therefore owe Military Allegiance to the Military Power ; and as Soldiers must obey every Order, and act wherever they are commanded. Therefore, as they rightly say, you must either disavow your Principles, or forego all Claim and Title to their Allegiance.

*A\*\**. All this Confusion and false Application of these Principles arises from our talking too crudely of a State of Nature, as the actual natural State of Man's Existence prior to all Government : and of Society, as an artificial Remedy superinduc'd upon this State, by every Individual's actual Consent to redress the Perversions of the natural Situation.

Thus the common way of considering this Point has been in the following manner : To know how Men came to be thus connected together, they have suppos'd a Time before they were connected at all, and then from examining the Circumstances of this State, which they call a State of Nature, they have attempted to find out, what shou'd be precisely and adequately the Cause, why Men left this independent State, and connected themselves in Society or Government ; and as there never really in Nature cou'd be any such State, every one have followed their own Fancies in describing it. One Part have painted Mankind running about like Beasts, feeding in the Fields, and dwelling in Caves and Dens ; but of these some, as Mr. *Hobbs* and his Followers, have made them of the fierce and wild kind ; while others rather



rather treat them as tame and domestic. Another Part has drawn this Age as a Race of God-like heav'nly Beings, above the ordinary Wants and Passions of the present degenerate one; and indeed, as the Stagyrite says, if Man be taken out of his natural social State, he must be suppos'd either a God or a Beast.

Now I apprehend that this first setting out, has been the Cause of much Confusion and wild Reasoning in this Matter; for instead of examining what cou'd be the Reason of superinducing a Regimen or Government upon *the State of Society which is the real State of Nature*; they suppose this State to be independent of all communicative Intercourse, and then seek for Reasons why Men shou'd enter into Society or Government which they confound as the same thing; whereas the true Method seems to me to be, to examine what is the real natural State of Mankind, and then from seeing why in such a State they cannot possibly subsist without Government, the Reasons will appear why they must necessarily connect and subordinate themselves in Government. Whoever considers it in this manner will find, I believe, that the social State or a State of Society is the real State of the Nature of Mankind. To separate and distinguish the Ideas of what is commonly call'd a State of Nature and a State of Government, for the purposes and ease of thinking is just and scientific; but to argue from such a State as an actual existing thing, and to refer to that as a Proof from Matter of Fact, is false and unphilosophical.

philosophical. For Man is not, nor cannot be that wild random independent Being we talk of; but Society, the political State, is the real natural State of Man. Nor is Government a mere voluntary artificial thing, but essential to the Nature of Mankind.

That which is of Nature is the State of Nature; now that Man shou'd subsist by and exist in Communion is of Nature, therefore the Communion of Mankind is the State of Nature. For Man, whether we consider him in every State and Circumstance of Fortune thro' all the Stages of Life, if we look upon him an Infant groveling and crying upon the Ground, thro' Life, to that second more helpless Infancy of old Age, we shall see him in all his Wants and Imperfections incapable of supporting and maintaining this strange implicated Frame of Being, scarcely in one Instance, much less thro' all of them. Again. If existing in that Habitude of things, which is suitable to the Power and Properties of any Being, is its natural State, how precisely so is COMMUNION *that State of Man?* All his Powers and Faculties are form'd for that, all his Affections private, domestic and public, not only form'd for it, but incite and drive us into it. There is a Principle of Attraction which we can no more resist to hold ourselves unconnected, than we cou'd resist that earthly one of Gravity to suspend ourselves in the Air. Nor is all this in vain and useless, 'tis *the very Spirit of that System in which we do actually exist.* 'Tis that Spirit by which this System and  
our

our own Existence must be preserv'd. Man cannot subsist but by Labour, and the tilling the Ground which is given for his Subsistence, and by the working the Fruits and Produce of it : but all these things are connected in their Existence, and their Properties are interwove and run into one another : therefore in whatever Point Man labours, his Labour must connect him or destroy him.

But these are abstruse Matters and need a DIAGRAM.—Come to this Window—here he threw open the Casements and we were entertain'd with the most noble and delightful Prospect of a great Tract of Country that I ever saw, for the House standing just upon the Brink of a Cliff, we look'd over a very extensive Vale that form'd a kind of Amphitheatre. Our Situation was so much above this Country, that, as if we were some superior Beings, we cou'd comprehend the whole at one View, and consider the Parts of it (which if we were amidst them wou'd more than absorb our Apprehension) as distinct and small Portions. We cou'd talk of large Fields of Agriculture, great Tracts of Plantations, and even large Towns, as of very simple distinct Ideas which we cou'd easily manage.—So very fine a Sight occasion'd a Pause in the Conversation; but after some time A\*\* resum'd his Discourse, and said, pointing to a little Farm just at the bottom of the Hill; Do ye see there that little Cottage just under us, here at the bottom of this Cliff? 'tis reckon'd one of the prettiest little Farms in the Country. You

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see,

see, by that little Rivulet that passes thro' it, how well 'tis water'd, and this Wood that gets up the side of the Hill here, belongs to it. That large Pasture that is half enclos'd by the Rivulet is esteem'd a sweet bit of Ground, as you may guess by its being so well stock'd; that fine Crop too which looks so yellow, and reaches a good way on by the Hill-side belongs to the same; beyond that, yon large Plain is its fen Meadow; and its home Grounds, see here just about it, those Closes on the left Hand. And from that Garden Spot and Orchard just behind the House, and the great Number of Poultry in the Yard, you see that it has every thing within itself.

You wou'd say now that from Industry in this little Corner, might be serv'd not only all the Wants, but all the comfortable and pleasureable Enjoyments of Life; and as Matters now stand, why so they may; and the Farmers that now live in it are, perhaps, the ancientest Family in the Country, for the *Mauvers* have rented it, Father and Son, in succession beyond all Memory; and you see by its Produce, and the Condition of its Fences, that it wants no kind of Cultivation and good Husbandry.—Well, but do you see yonder, as far as you can see, at the Foot of those Hills (where that great River coming round enters the Prospect)—towards the Right there—do you see something as it were a Wart in the Horizon?—However circumscrib'd within itself and independent this Farm here may seem, I can assure



assure it is so intimately connected with yon almost invisible Spot that it cou'd not subsist, nor be what it is without it—If we had the Telescope here you wou'd see that yon Spot is a *Minery*.—Now tell me how cou'd this Farm be inhabited without Houses or Hutts, or how cou'd it support its Inhabitants without Culture? But without Tools and Implements we must be reduc'd to digging Holes with our Nails to burrough in, and without the Instruments of Husbandry we must work, as well as eat, with our Teeth. 'Tis yon Spot that supplies the Materials for all these Instruments, and that Boat there that is coming round yon Reach of the River, is bringing them to that large Town to be made up. Now how do you think that vast Multitude of Inhabitants (the Noise of which we almost hear hither like a humming) can be subsisted, but from that great Tract of Country which lyes round it? So that you see this little Spot here is so far from being independent, that its Interest, its Subsistence, is interwoven with the greatest, the most distant Parts of this vast Tract of Country. But was I to pursue this Consideration further, thro' all the several, various, intermediate and collateral Connexions, you wou'd see that not only this Spot and its Inhabitants, but every the remotest, the best and worst are all so inseparably connected and link'd to each and the whole, *that there is ONE UNINTERRUPTED CATENATION of a one Interest and Existence of the Whole*. If we were to consider those whose

Care is the bringing forth, and producing, and nurturing the several Products and Fruits of the Earth both internal and external—Next those who work them up through all their innumerable Variety of Frames and Fashions, to the almost infinite Uses and Purposes of Mankind—then all those who prepare and make the Tools and Instruments for those to work with—how these connect and are connected with the whole—then those who dig and work the Materials of which these are made—and then those who distribute and vend all to the Consumer—and lastly the Means and Method by which all this Intercommunion and Commerce is carried on—Were we minutely to consider all these Links of which these are only the Heads, you would look upon this Landskip before us as one great intricate and exquisite Piece of Mechanism ; which by an almost infinite Number of subordinate Powers, all severally connecting and connected to each other, all together conspiring to the one universal Movement of the whole, directs its Operations to the noblest Purposes, the Support and Welfare of Mankind.

Thus we should see Man not that distinct independent Creature, but how every Individual is link'd in with each other and the whole Community. We should see that all Mankind are, as *Charôndas* calls them, Mess-mates and Fellow-boarders.—But these are dry Matters before Breakfast, and there is no End of them.

The

The *Mythologists* set it in a more easy and lively Form ; they say that *Jupiter*, after he had seized his Father, and had taken upon himself the Government of the World, came down to Mount *Ida*, or the Peak of some high Mountains whose Heads are above the Clouds, from thence (as we may do from this Cliff) to survey his Kingdom. But whether it had suffer'd any Violence in the late Revolution of Nature, or he had been misinform'd, is not clear ; however instead of that fertile fruitful teeming Earth, flowing with Milk and Honey, inhabited by a Race of Men living in Peace and Plenty, feeding on the spontaneous Produce of the Earth, and sleeping on Carpets of Flowers, instead of such visionary Scenes of Nonsense, he found it wild, overrun with Weeds, a Land of Thorns and Thistles ; and Mankind as wild as the Country, and near as savage as the Beasts of it. In short he found Nature in a distracted disunited State ; existing at Random and by Chance ; and going by piecemeal, one part after another, to Wreck and Ruin ; and *Chaos* gaining upon his Empire every Age. In that instant he took from his Girdle that *golden Chain* eternal and infinite, with which he holds all Things, and pour'd it forth in an invisible ineffable Manner through every Power and Mode of all Existence, so as to interweave the Essence of every Creature into one another, and to connect them all, so that they could not exist, but by and in Communion with one another. So that this Communion of Society is

founded on that universal Law of Nature, by which all things, as in some golden Chain, are connected and united, upheld and maintain'd in one System and Co-existence.

Being all thus link'd together in one Communion, in one common Interest, they may be properly said to be a Society, a People; but yet having no natural Principle of acting as one whole, they are in a natural Incapacity of managing this common Interest: Therefore his next divine Thought was to lay open before the Eye of their Reason so much of the *Rationale* of this mystick Chain, as to instruct them how they ought to frame and subordinate each amongst themselves, as to put on a Form capable of such Principle; that there might be some one determinate Method, by which this indeterminate and diffusive Power might be capable to exert itself, as the Power of one Body, one Whole. And this Form is what may be call'd *Impire* or Government. And thus, says *Plato*, Polity is the Care of the Communion of Mankind\*.

B\*\*. This golden Chain that *lies thus open to the Eye of Reason*, may be, for ought I know, very reasonable, but I want to know *what actually could determine these Connexions and Subordinations to be such as they are*. What could determine this our Legislator (for so likewise we will call those Chances and Vicissitudes of things by which Governments have been brought about)

\* Ἐπιμελεία ἀνθρώπων συμπάσης κοινωνίας. *Politic.*



What could determine *this Legislator* to divide the Multitude into the Governed and Governor, and to place the Power of Government in any one Part rather than another? Whence arose that Authority and Influence with Power to support and maintain it? I know many, like some rough reasoning *Brennus*, would throw the Sword into the Scale, and say, That only ought to turn it. But how came *Brennus* by the Direction of this Sword? How came about those Connexions and Subordinations, by which that *Empire* (which he hath at the Head of the States Forces) was form'd? So again we return to the same Question, What is that by which we can precisely say, that the Balance of Power does actually preponderate to this or that Side, and what can be the Matter of such Balance? It cannot be meer brutal Strength or Force; for if so, *Caligula's* Horse had as good Right to the Consulship of *Rome* as his Master.

*A\*\*.* Either my own Heedlessness, or your Artfulness has drawn me in to preach and dogmatize like any bearded Sophist; but I wish with all my Soul our good People would come down to Breakfast, and spoil this Sport, for I am quite sick of myself. But if there is no Help for it, I must go on.—Well, to take up again the Philosopher.

The Possessions of this Earth, or those things with which a Man must be cloath'd and fed, consist of the Products of the Land cultur'd and manufactur'd. These become a Man's either by his having acquir'd some Land, or where by being al-

low'd to employ his Labour on another's Land, he has a certain Share in the Products of such Land. This must naturally divide Mankind into two Sorts of Inhabitants, the Landholder and the Labourer. Of which any body, that sees the Course and Vicissitude of human Possessions, will easily know the latter must be the Many, the other the Few; and that the Many must necessarily be dependent, and under the Influence of such Few: And that these Few likewise must be under certain Connexions and Dependencies amongst one another, in proportion to their Interest amongst one another, and their greater or less Influence over the Many: And to this purpose we read in *Aristotle*. If the Government be thus suppos'd to be founded in the Balance of Property, each Part of it will have a Share of such Government in proportion to his Property. For of an hundred *Minae* it can never be, that he who only contributes, one should have an equal Share in the Distribution with him that bears all the rest of the Dividend, neither in the first Constituents of Government, nor in their Successors the Subjects of the same. \* This Balance of Property can alone be (where there is no Violence done to the Vigor of natural Principles) the Matter or Ground of a Ba-

\* Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κτημάτων χάριν ἐκοινώνησαν καὶ σύνελθον, τοσούτον μίλῃχρσι, ὅσοντις τῆς κλήσεως—ὅν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον ἴσον μίλῃχρ τῶν ἑκατὸν μῶν τὸν εἰσενέγκοντα μίαν μῶν, τῷ δόλῃ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν, οὔτε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιγιννομένων. *Arist. de Repub. Lib. 3. cap. 9.*

lance of Power, as we have a most illustrious Fact in the most ancient Account of the *Egyptian* Empire, which was settled by *Joseph*, as it remain'd to the Days of *Diodorus Siculus*. *This BALANCE OF PROPERTY can be the only first, natural, real and permanent Ground of those Connexions and Subordinations which form an Empire*; however variously Authority may afterward build upon it by Intrigue. Such who think it sufficient to account for this *secondary* Principle may see the best Account of it in one of Sir *William Temple's* Essays on Government. But this Balance of Property is the original real Foundation, and in Proportion to the various and several Aggregations of it, this *Empire* must put on its various Forms.

But further, whoever have taken upon themselves the Legislator (either in Speculation or in Practice, in Treatise or in Fact) have failed or succeeded according to their Attention to this Point. For this is a Thing really existing, and can moreover only exist as it hath its Foundation in Nature. For whoever hath attempted to frame and model it *artificially* to their own Schemes, instead of building upon it as a Foundation existing in Nature, have all found their Schemes *Utopian* and their Legislature abortive.

All the lesser Politicians that have wrote of these Matters, have never so much as dreamt of this; and many that have had an Eye to it have so nodded about it, that they have always treated it as an artificial thing, which was to be fram'd  
and

and modell'd even any how, just as best suited their Hypotheses. The first that apply'd this Doctrine to Politics, was PHALEAS of *Chalcédon*\*, and his System was, that all Estates should be made equal, and all Degrees levell'd in a free City, and that there should be an open Intercommunion establish'd amongst all and every Citizen. The next that we know of, is HYPODAMUS the *Milesian*, who in his Treatise of Politics, would model this Foundation into three artificial Parts, and upon these form his three Kind of Citizens and their several Natures, the Husbandman, the Handicraftman, and the Military Order.

But there is one Mistake which runs through all these *Utopian* Levellers, and which they take up one after another even down to Sir *Thomas More*. And it is this. They see the natural Connexion that there is between the Balance of Power and the Balance of Property, but think this Balance is a meer artificial Thing, and must owe both its Nature and Existence to the Wisdom of the Legislator, not at all considering the most intimate Connexion there is between this and Nature, that is the Nature of the Country and People where it is found. It is this Consideration which distinguishes the *Utopian* from the Politician: And it is this which distinguishes the great Mr. *Harrington* from these Wild-shavers. He

\* Δοκῆι τισι περὶ ταῖς Οὐσίαις εἶναι μέγιστον τελεῖσθαι καλῶς—  
διὸ Φαλίας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τὸν εἰσέμνηκε πρῶτος. *Arist de Rep.*  
*Lib. 2. cap. 7.*

says



says indeed, as do all the best Writers, that this Balance is to be rectified and regulated by the Hands of the Legislator or Minister : But that it has its Foundation in Nature, in the Scite and Circumstances of the Country and People. And though the Government of his *Oceana* may appear in so questionable a Form ; yet as he all along supposes it to be built on such a Foundation, as where the Balance of Property is in the People, and says it can be only true and right as that is Fact or not, we can only condemn it when we know, whether at the Time in which he wrote, there was such a Balance or not in Favour of the People. But if he had been alive at this Day, he could have shewn from the same Principles, upon which his *Oceana* is founded, that the Constitution of our present State is founded in Truth and Nature, and therefore legal and right ; because his Principles are no visionary ones of Fancy, but drawn from Nature and Fact.

And further, free Governments must not only be founded, and originally constituted upon this Balance, but must be administer'd likewise upon these Principles. However the Forms of Government may have arose upon this, it is from this alone that they can take their Policy. For wherever the landed Property is, there will (unless there be some unnatural factious Violence against the Vigour of these Principles) be also the Power,

Now

Now in an industrious trading and free Nation this naturally will be often shifting and changing Hands. Thus, says *Plato* \*, come about the Revolutions and Changes of Power in a Government. And thus, for Instance, the Democracy gains upon the Few. “ While the young Nobles, attending to nothing but their Pleasure, indulge in every Extravagancy of Expence, the People partly by Purchase, and partly from eating into their Estates by Usury, buy them out more and more every Day, and every Day become more rich and more powerful, till the whole Balance shall have shifted into their Hands.” Now while the old Possessors that have parted with the Land, are unwilling to part with the Power that hath lain so long in their Hands, arise those Struggles which are the only real Parties in a free Government. But verily at last the Power must follow too. And then those old Families that formerly had it, think the Constitution is corrupted, and the true Balance destroy’d. And, as in all wise and free States, there will be a mutual Connexion between the Men of Property and the Government, this will naturally give Rise to these old Constitutionists to consider the Government and Country as in two different, if not direct contrary Interests. This has been eminently the Case in all those great Shiftings of Property that have happen’d in this Kingdom: As at the

\* De Repub. Lib. 8. p. 555. Edit. Serrani.

Time of the Reformation, when Trade first began to flourish, and the Commonalty to grow Considerable : and it was upon the Humour that took Rise from a like Occasion not half a Century ago, that the artful Author of *The Dissertation on Parties* has engrafted that invidious and mischievous Distinction of *Court* and *Country Interest*.

Now if we consider those Struggles and Parties that happen in a free Government, by these Principles ; we shall have no Reason to make such Governments consist of such heterogeneous Stuff, as different and distinct Interests. For whatever real Parties there can be in a free Government, they can only arise from the changing and shifting of this Balance while the Power is getting into other Hands than where it was before ; but wherever it goes, if it be no further extended, and no otherwise founded, than on the Balance of real Property, it is equally legal and true, be it in the Hands of the Many, the Few, or even One. But wherever there is any popular Tumult on one Hand ; or Cabal of the Few, or Tyranny of the One, on the other, that aims to do Violence to the Vigor of these natural Principles ; such Party becomes a Faction ; and it becomes the Duty of every honest Man to oppose it with all his Might, and with all his Strength to endeavour to crush such Faction.

Upon

Upon this Balance have all Governments that have been able to subsist and maintain themselves been form'd or arose. Whether they have been form'd at once where some *good and great Man* has shewn the Community this Balance, and form'd and fashioned their several Connexions and Subordinations accordingly : as those of *Crete*, *Lacedemon* and *Carthage* : or where by degrees and length of Time, fluctuating by all the Changes and Chances of Fortune, thro' all the Vicissitudes of Time, and revolving from one Extreme of utmost Hazard and Ruin to another, from being tried and experienc'd in every Evil that can be surviv'd, *The People* themselves have come, as it were, to feel it out ; as in *Athens* and *Rome*.

The considering the Matter in this or some such Light wou'd free this Subject from all the Difficulties and Objections with which it is attended. For you see by this how every Man is even from his Birth, and in that State of Nature which we talk of, so connected to the Community, that his Attachment is indissolvable but by the Dissolution of the Community ; and you perceive how all those Ties by which he is connectd and subordinate, spring naturally one from another to the utmost Strictures of Government, and yet all consistent with that Liberty, which is consistent with the natural State of Man, the Social. But it yet remains, whether upon the Application of these Principles to the *real Exercise and administering* of Govern-



Government, whether they will be found throughout consistent with that true Policy which is founded in Liberty. For if these be true you may see that a Subject is inseparably connected with the Government: but how this can be, and how it can be consistent with Liberty, must remain a Doubt.

*B\*\*.* But it must not remain so; I own I shou'd be very glad to see a fair Plan of your reasoning; and not only a Plan, but rather an intire Structure of your System: it wou'd give me great Satisfaction to see how these Doctrines hang together; and I shou'd be heartily pleas'd to reconcile your Principles and your Politics.

*A\*\*.* As nothing wou'd give me greater Satisfaction than to vindicate myself to one of your Judgment, I will endeavour to do it; but if it is to be done by framing Hypotheses and building Systems, neither my Abilities nor my Inclination will befriend me. I had once occasion to be pretty much with some of those *Irish* Officers in the *French* Service (whose Case we just now mention'd) I had frequent Opportunity of conversing freely with them; and this very Subject, amongst many others, was a Topic of our Conversation: there was amongst them a Person of Spirit and Learning; and I freely own that these very Arguments, which you now use, he wou'd urge with such Force, and under Colour of such enlarg'd Benevolence, that half charm'd with the Appearance of his Humanity, I have been often

often dazled with the Speciousness of his Reasoning: And as it was a Subject I had but little consider'd I cou'd little answer his Arguments. However, I was very careful to remember them, and even to write them down. And since that time I have drawn together several Reasonings by way of Answer to them, which if you think it worth your while to hear, you may: so if you like it after Breakfast, we will retire into the Study.

F I N I S.



ERRATUM.

*Page 33, line 5. of the note, for σύμβολω read σύμβολον.*



